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AS THE HOPE OF JEWISH REFUGEES

*Three Addresses Delivered at National Conference
of United Palestine Appeal, Washington, D. C.*

A SOLUTION FOR THE PALESTINE PROBLEM
Rt. Hon. Alfred Duff Cooper

THE CHALLENGE OF INTOLERANCE
Mr. Justice Frank Murphy

PALESTINE AND THE WORLD JEWISH CRISIS
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Issued by
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
111 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

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AS THE central American instrument for the rebuilding of Palestine, the United Palestine Appeal, which combines the fund-raising efforts of the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund, has helped make possible the establishment of a Jewish community of 500,000 in Palestine. In 1940 the United Palestine Appeal will be called upon to provide larger resources than ever before, if Palestine is to absorb successfully 35,000 refugees who came to its shores in 1939 and thousands of others who continue to find a home there, despite the war.

A SOLUTION FOR THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

*By the RT. HON. ALFRED DUFF COOPER,
Former First Lord of the British Admiralty*

FOR centuries the Jews, wandering from their own country, have ever longed to return to it. This is no new movement, because individuals at all periods of history have felt this nostalgia for the home of their origin. It has gone on from generation to generation. It has sprung up first in one land, then in another. It has never been universal, but it has never been extinguished and, deep in the hearts of millions, it has burnt, an enduring flame.

Finally, after the last world catastrophe, it seemed that the time had come when this long dream was going to come true. At last, a great country declared in an historic declaration in favor of making a reality of what had so long been only a vision. And, as the result of the peace treaties that were concluded at the end of the war, not one country only, but all those who were parties to the treaty, pledged themselves to use their best offices to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Twenty years have passed since then. These have been twenty years, on the whole, of tragic failure, but there have been exceptions to that failure. Here and there there have been bright instances, here and there there have been signs of promise, here and there there have been hopes fulfilled.

The Success of Jewish Palestine

What has been the history of this experiment during the twenty years? The Jews who have flocked back to Palestine have performed there what is little less than a miracle—they have made the desert flower; they have built up wealth where there was poverty; they are still employed upon that great task. They have increased the population wherever they have gone. Not only their own Jewish population,

but the native population who were there at the time have multiplied owing to the increase of wealth and the increase of employment. Thus, surely, the work of the Jews in Palestine during these sad twenty years has been an exception to the many failures by which that period has been marked.

What has been the result of that success? What is, alas, too commonly in this world the result of success? It has been to provoke opposition, envy and jealousy, that envy and jealousy sometimes fermented from other lands for political reasons, having no connection with the local dispute. That envy and jealousy has assumed proportions which have led to violence and to bloodshed. For a long time incidents of increasing seriousness have marked that endeavor to hinder the work that is being performed, to put spokes in the wheel, to prevent the carrying to its natural conclusion of a wonderful beginning. And, as we all know, the result has been enforcement of stern measures, military occupation, violence, bloodshed, death, execution—a tragic tale.

It seemed that toward the end of this summer a new era was going to be introduced. There had been, as the result of these misfortunes, a special Royal Commission sent out to Palestine to inquire into the conditions, and to report—a commission of distinguished Englishmen, who delivered the report which, in fact, gave complete satisfaction to nobody, and which, therefore, was commended as being possibly fair to all.

At any rate, the Zionists, although they could not be expected to receive it with enthusiasm—I remember Dr. Weizmann himself described it to me as “Zionism without Zion,” for Jerusalem was to be excluded from the part that was to be handed over to the Zionists—nevertheless showed their moderation, their reasonableness, by agreeing to accept it and to do all that lay in their power to implement a program which was certainly fraught with difficulties, but which was at least an honest endeavor to find a solution for one of the most difficult problems of the age.

That solution has never been implemented; it was decided not to carry out the recommendations of that Commission which the Zionists had accepted and which the Arabs had refused.

There were further inquiries, further hesitations, further uncertainty, and there is nothing worse in any political situation than uncertainty, because all the time that people are waiting for a decision the situation invariably goes from bad to worse.

The Program of the White Paper

And then there came, this summer, a new program, contained once more in a White Paper. I confess that to my mind that program was difficult to defend. I went so far as to protest against it in the House of Commons. It seemed to me that far from assisting in any way toward the solution of the Jewish question, it was going to create a new Jewish question in Palestine; that, after being tempted, lured, and encouraged to return to that country, thousands of Jews were eventually to be left to their fate, remaining for all time a minority. Particularly those clauses which referred to immigration seemed to me singularly unfair, for the principle that inspired them was simply this: because, owing to terrible events in Europe, some destitute, unhappy refugees had succeeded in circumventing the regulations and in getting into Palestine without having gone through the proper legal forms, therefore those who had made no such attempt, those who were anxious to carry out the law and to abide by it were going to be prevented from returning to that land. To punish those who had observed the law for the crimes of those who break it, seems to me the opposite of justice or equity.

I think I said in the House of Commons that it was just as if a schoolmaster were to say to his class, “Half the boys are playing truant today and are not here; therefore those who have come to school shall stay twice as long and be punished.”

Now there is a lull. Now, while the whole of Europe is thrown into the melting pot; now, while catastrophe upon the largest scale is looming up before an ever-darkening sky—now, peace, comparative peace, has fallen upon Palestine. To the credit of all concerned, nobody wishes to disturb Great Britain or cause her unnecessary anxiety or unnecessary responsibilities for the use of her armed forces in a

time such as this. The lull surely should be taken advantage of in order to reconsider the whole question, and in order to arrive at a policy that shall be sound, one that can be implemented, and then one that will ultimately solve the whole problem.

I think that that is the duty of those who are responsible for the government of that country at this time, those who are responsible for the carrying out of the mandate.

It is all very well to say that when a great country is engaged in war, everybody's activities are so fully occupied that they have not time for this, that and the other. That is not the case in England today. There are hundreds and thousands of men who have plenty of leisure, distinguished men, men who have occupied the most responsible positions, men who can look back upon careers which would enable them to give invaluable advice to those in authority. There are plenty of people in England today who have plenty of time to give to the consideration of the future of Palestine.

It may not be—indeed, I do not think it is—the time to attempt to put into force any new decisions, but it is the time when the new decisions should be prepared, so that they shall not be rushed through too hastily when the duty and the task of peace-making is finally faced.

The Failure of British Administration

Now, in my opinion, the British Administration of Palestine has failed. It has failed, not, I think, because it was undertaken in anything but the right spirit. I am convinced that those who have been responsible for the administration of Palestine these twenty years have deliberately attempted to find some way of dealing with the situation which should give absolute fairness to both portions of the population, to treat Jew and Arab alike, to encourage them both to live on friendly terms and to hope that they, amongst themselves, will be able to share equally, fifty-fifty, in the government and in the control of the production, the wealth and the future of the country. That was the principle that lay at the basis of Great Britain's policy.

I believe the policy has failed, not only, or certainly not principally, because of any mistake of administrators on the spot, though they may

not have been perfect, and though some of them may have been biased in one direction or the other. I believe it has not failed for that reason nor has it failed through any graver international causes. It has failed because the basis itself was unsound and because in that particular corner of the earth, as in nearly every other country throughout the world, one race has got to be the dominant race and one race has got to be the inferior. The dominant race may, should, and no doubt would treat the other race with consideration and fairness, give them access to every path to success, to fame and to honor; but where there are deep divisions, not only racial but religious, there must be one side which feels that here it is their right to say what shall be done. Having said what is right, and having carried out what they believe to be fair, they can look the whole world in the face and ask of the whole world to judge whether they have dealt fairly with their neighbor or no.

But, so long as there are two races on exactly level terms, holding such deeply different views on some of the fundamental facts of life, both in this world and the next; while those two races seek, even with the best will in the world, to share quite evenly in the control of the country, they are seeking to attain the impossible.

In this period of the world's distress, we should not fix our aims too high. We should not hope for the impossible. We should not endeavor to produce a state of affairs that so far as I am aware has never existed in any land, a state in which two nations, two ancient nations, share equally the rights, the privileges and the powers that men most desire in any civilized community.

A False Policy

This policy has failed not because it was not sincerely adopted, or has not been sincerely carried out, but because it was a policy false in its foundations.

The next inevitable conclusion must be that in future the mandatory power must regard this question with bias upon one side or the other. They have tried to treat it without bias, without favoritism, and they have failed. Therefore, in the future they must adopt some bias. Then comes the question: On which side should the bias be? The

old story, about which there has been so much dispute, has been gone over often regarding the promises given in the stress of the Great War; the promises given by this government or that, the letters that were written, the speeches that were made, the notes that were exchanged. It has been maintained that Great Britain, in her endeavor to keep her promises to both sides, has broken them to both. That may be true, but that is ancient history; that belongs to a period which is already receding into the past.

The mere fact, if it is a fact—and I maintain it is—that every effort has been made to carry out all those promises, even when they were in conflict with one another; the fact that an effort has been made to carry them out renders them now part and parcel with the time to which they belong, something that need no longer be so closely and meticulously regarded with a legalistic eye.

Now, let us consider what has happened in the interval, what has happened since 1914 to the two peoples most closely concerned.

The Arab Position—1914-1940

In 1914 there was hardly any territory which the Arabs could call their own. They were almost throughout the Near East subject to Turkish suzerainty. Since 1914, they have acquired vast tracts of territory where they are independent: the whole of Arabia; Trans-Jordania, which was taken away from the original conception of Palestine; Syria, where again they exercise semi-independent rights. No nation in the world has so little ground for complaining of what the Germans call lack of *lebensraum* as the Arab race. They have vast spaces in which to expand. They have been amongst the greatest beneficiaries of the World War, and now they are subject to no particular evils. They are in no way worse off. In fact, they are in many ways very much better off than they were twenty or twenty-five years ago.

And what, meanwhile, has happened to the Jews? Did anybody imagine when Balfour made his Declaration, when we were at war for four and a half years; when the Treaty of Versailles and the accompanying treaties were signed, did anybody imagine what was going to

happen in the Continent of Europe in the years to come? Could anybody, believing in progress, in human nature and in Christian civilization, have dreamt of the ghastly, hideous and shocking persecution that has befallen the Jewish race?

The Burden on Christendom

These events are a shame, an abiding shame, not only upon the people who are responsible for them, but to some extent upon all European nations, and indeed upon the whole of Christendom.

For Germany and the Germans, they will constitute a stigma which that people will not live down for centuries. But for us also, for us who have stood by and watched, who have expressed in forceful language our horror and our indignation; but yet have allowed these things to go on, and have discussed terms and treaties and friendship with the people who were committing these abominable crimes—for us also, there is a share, a minor share, to be borne of this great shame.

Ages are remembered, alas, more often, by the crimes that are committed in them than for the good they bring forth. We speak of the times of the Spanish Inquisition; we speak of the times of the Emperor Nero, forgetting all the good, wise men who lived in both those periods, and all the good things that were done by innumerable human beings. It may be that in centuries to come people will speak of this age not as the age of the World War, not as the age of two World Wars, but as the age of Jewish persecutions. Our descendants will wonder, "What were our grandfathers like? Could they have been civilized and made no protest, could they have allowed these things to be and not have sought some remedy to set them right?"

Promises to Jews Should Be Redoubled

These things being as they are, it seems to me that the claim of the Jewish people upon Christendom, and upon Great Britain particularly, is far stronger today than it has ever been before, and that any promises that we made twenty years ago we should wipe out now and redouble.

We can do that. I believe in all sincerity we can do that without

inflicting any serious injury upon a single Arab. There is so much suffering in the world today that the little inconvenience, the possible disappointments, the heart-burnings and the regrets which would be felt by those against whom the decision went, would seem but a teaspoonful in the world's vast sea of sorrows. We should say now to the Jewish people and to the Arabs, too:

"This small corner of the world from which the Jews came, such a small corner for such a great people to demand, is going in the future to be the Jewish home; and there and there only they shall eventually be sovereign. There they shall decide the numbers of the immigrants and the conditions of immigration, and for you others who do not wish it, we are prepared to make every concession and give you every assurance. We will see that you receive the fairest treatment any minority could demand. We will see, through a system similar to that which now exists, of reports to the League of Nations or reports to Great Britain, or reports to anybody whom you may choose, that you are fairly treated, and those who wish to leave the land and emigrate, we will assist to emigrate. We will insure that they have a fresh start in some part of the Eastern territory, so broad and long, in which they naturally belong. This is not like moving them to a new continent or moving them even into a new country, but moving them simply into territories where Arabs have lived for generations, and where Arabs and Arabian peoples are living today."

If we were to say this, they should have nothing to fear from that solution. No man likes to leave his home, but in comparison with the suffering that is being almost universally inflicted, how little suffering would be there involved? A few hundreds or thousands perhaps of people would find new homes under new skies, with assistance, with care, with aid, and with guarantees. Those on the other hand, who took what I believe they would find the wiser view, and remained where they were, would be allowed to share in all the prosperity which would undoubtedly grow up in Palestine if it were left to the cultivation and the ruling of the Jewish people.

And so much for the future of the Arabs. What of the future of the Jews?

It is a dark future for them today. It is almost too terrible to contemplate. For years it has been steadily deteriorating, and the tales that now reach us, few and fearful out of Poland, make one feel that it is still getting worse and worse, even when we believe that the worst had been reached and the bitterness of death was past.

What would be the future? Would it entail simply a Jewish country, and would the Jews in other countries be alien? Would they feel that that was their nation, that that was their home, and therefore they could no longer be loyal subjects of whatever country in which they lived?

A Fallacious Conception of Zionism

I believe that idea to be profoundly fallacious. The whole trend of our times should be away from narrow nationalism. And I believe that this particular question, this question of Zionism, should serve us as a guide and an indication of the road we should take in international affairs generally.

At the present time the democratic powers of Western Europe are engaged in a life and death struggle with the great totalitarian power of Germany, supported as she is to some extent by the still greater totalitarian power of Russia. It seems to me that the future will decide something more important than victory on land or sea, and that there is a danger, greater perhaps even than defeat in war, greater than having our armies smashed and our ships sunk. It is the danger of having our minds perverted and our souls lost.

There is a danger that even while we win the war, which, incidentally, I am confident we shall do; even while we defeat the forces of the enemy on sea, on land and in the air, there is a danger lest their ideas may defeat us, and lest we may emerge from the conflict nearer to being totalitarian powers than we ever were before, having subconsciously absorbed, while fighting, the very ideas which we are fighting to destroy. There is a growth in the world today of the spirit that the state is almighty, that the race is all-important, and of the narrow autarchic national spirit. Should that triumph in the world, it would be the greatest of all tragedies. We should not think that because a

man is born of a particular race, or because he lives in a particular territory, that therefore his whole being, his whole mind, should think merely as the people living in that territory think; and that if his thoughts stray aside, he is necessarily a traitor to the land he lives in. That is the doctrine which is being enforced on the unfortunate German people at this day. They are being told that every man must think one thing, every man must believe in one leader, every man must say the same thing, and he must almost say it at the same time as every other man. That is the degradation of humanity.

The New Spirit—Cooperation

There is another spirit. There is a spirit which believes that a man should have first and foremost nearest to his own heart his own belief in what is right and wrong; that after that, he should serve loyally the country in which he lives, the community to which he belongs, and do all in his power to render them service both in war and in peace. He may at the same time feel an especial loyalty to some special race to which he belongs, something older, possibly, than the land he lives in.

We have many examples of it within our own British Commonwealth of Nations. For generations in the past the Scottish and the English people fought one another. It was only 400 years ago that they were arrayed in battle, the last of many bloody battles against one another, a long tradition of hatred and enmity. It is all gone. It has disappeared. It is unthinkable, and yet there is retained among the Scottish people a profound and deep pride of race. Wherever they go throughout the world, and there are thousands of Scots in this country, they remain proud of Scotland. They sing the Scottish songs and tell the Scottish stories and look after the Scottish poor wherever they find them. But does anybody in the United States suspect that a man, because he is a Scotsman, cannot be a loyal American? And if he loves, when he has the opportunity, to travel across the sea and visit the home of his father and spend happy days in the old country, does anybody think he is going there to plot the downfall of the United States?

That is the right spirit which should infuse the new world; the spirit

that races can mix with one another and yet retain the pride of race; that they can go forth into new countries and confer great benefits to those countries by their own methods and the traditions which they have inherited; and that they can become loyal citizens of that country. That is the new spirit of cooperation which will have to infuse the new world unless the world is going to fall into despair and destruction, and into little autarchic bodies of particular nations fighting against one another, and occasionally subjecting one another, as today the Germans are subjecting the Poles and the Czechs, to humiliation and servitude. Unless that is to be the solution, the other spirit, of mixing with one another and not being suspicious on the grounds of race, is the one that must embody the hopes of the new world. In that world I believe that when the principle that I have suggested is firmly established in Palestine, when the dream of Zion has come true, there will be Jews in America, in England, in France, in whatever country you like, who will be loyal Americans, loyal Frenchmen, loyal Englishmen, and nonetheless loyal because they know that far away, in the ancient land from which they came, they still have a habitation and an asylum and a home.

THE CHALLENGE OF INTOLERANCE

By FRANK MURPHY,

Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States

FOR many of the human family, the period we live in is one of heartbreak and tragedy. Helplessly, the humble, unknown thousands whose only wants are bread and peace, see their homelands overrun by invading armies, their homes and fields ravaged by the lightning strokes of war. Life for them is a nightmare of destruction and hate, too horrible to be believed, if it were not that the harsh facts lie before their eyes.

In such an era, earnest efforts on the other side of the ledger—endeavors to *find* and to *build* homes for the homeless and oppressed—must come to all men of good will as a source of cheer and encouragement.

To one like myself who was brought up from early childhood to read and revere the Bible as the Book of books, Palestine is not simply a distant country, nor are the people who first made it the Holy Land simply another race. The Land of the Book and the People of the Book are peculiarly part of the religious heritage of civilized men.

And so it is that your efforts to help build a sanctuary for the harried and homeless of the Jewish people have a mighty appeal to those of us of other faiths and races who still find refuge, when the world about us seems the darkest, in the spiritual teachings of the humble prophets who dwelt in Zion and in Galilee many centuries ago.

We recall that America itself came into being at the hands of harried and homeless people, searching for the blessings of peace and freedom. Remembering their great struggle, we sympathize the more with this effort of yours to create in Palestine a haven of refuge and a center of culture where your kith and kin, free from oppression and persecution, can find life and peace in the land of their forefathers.

By MR. JUSTICE FRANK MURPHY

Enlightenment Protects Man's Gains

The forces of enlightenment today are not those which resist all change or the forces which favor any change. They are, instead, the forces which seek to achieve, *in time*, such improvements in the established order of things as may be necessary to protect in a moving world the gains which civilized men through centuries of struggle have acquired.

That, essentially, is the aim of the forces of enlightenment, the forces of religion and true conservatism, without regard to political partisanship, in this country and other countries where the lamps of reason have not been extinguished.

But in large sections of the world where the lamps of reason have gone out or have flickered low, the enlightened effort to improve the lot of all men has given way to a resurgence of bigotry and intolerance as cruel and as barbarous as history has ever recorded. And today, as in the olden time, it is the Jewish people—homeless and so the least able to defend themselves—who have suffered first and suffered the hardest. Once again, they have served as the most readily available scapegoats for those who accept force as their gospel and find virtue in refusing to be guided by the laws of reason or the laws of God.

Intolerance as a Smokescreen

But the world will make a grave mistake if from these facts it concludes that the revival of intolerance is primarily or peculiarly a Jewish problem. For already it is apparent that the Jews are serving not merely as a scapegoat but as a smokescreen to conceal more aggressive designs of power-mad men. Already those who started out and who continue to bait the Jews are baiting Protestants and Catholics whenever they find that they have the force to succeed and that the loot makes their effort worthwhile. The worship of force is not only anti-Jewish, it is anti-Christian, it is a revolt against reason and God.

This is not a lesson for Europe alone, or simply for lands other than our own. It is a lesson that Americans, also, need to learn and

to carry with them through life as an inseparable part of their citizenship.

For the virus of anti-Semitism has made itself felt here as well as abroad.

The purveyors of hatred, the provokers of division and strife, the swaggering apostles of force and violence, are methodically and with premeditation laboring to bring to the United States the same conditions of group hatred and civil war that have destroyed the peace of Europe. Treacherously, they camouflage their true nature by representing themselves to the unwary as defenders of God, America, and the Constitution. Unscrupulously, they stir up riots in the city streets, they intimidate peaceful citizens, they invade meetings, and they peddle as truth the malicious lies which people of their ilk have invented to blacken those whom they hate.

Some of this professional hate-mongering, government can and will combat through the laws of the land. But in the main, American democracy must look for its defense to the wisdom of the people and their determination not to be led on the paths that have taken other peoples to communism and fascism.

Not guns nor battleships will ultimately preserve democracy, but the devotion of a people who have the good sense to realize that intolerance is no respecter of persons—that once unleashed it has no regard for religion or race or economic status, or least of all, for that dignity of the individual which lies at the basis of our civilization. Democracy in America will be saved if, as a people, we are wise enough to know that if we do not respect others' faiths, the day may come when other men will not respect our faiths.

The Refugees—A World Problem

The refugee problem is not a problem of or for any one race or religion, it is a challenge to civilized man the world over. In helping to give your people or any people a chance to live a free life in a free country, we are helping to do our part to preserve justice and liberty in a civilized world. We are not merely relieving suffering and distress,

we are helping to preserve for ourselves and our posterity those ideas and spiritual values without which life would be a barren and brutish thing.

There are some things in this era of transition on which we all cannot agree—some matters of national policy about which there are bound to be honest differences of opinion.

But there is one question of policy that should not and must not divide us. Should it eventually do so, the end of American democracy will not be far behind.

That policy is the creed of tolerance which for a century and a half has sustained civil liberty and representative government in this land.

There is no hope for us in turning away from that policy. And those who preach that we will prosper by doing so preach a black and destructive doctrine. They preach a doctrine that is the betrayal of everything that the Fathers of the Republic hoped and planned for. They preach a philosophy that can bring nothing but hate and misery and ruin to this nation which has become great only through harmony and mutual faith among those who built it.

America Founded as a Partnership

America was not built by anti-Semitism, or anti-Protestantism, or hatred for the Catholics, or by the fantastic doctrines of racial superiority that are practiced elsewhere. America was built to greatness by a partnership of men and women who represent every race and nationality that inhabits the globe. The good things of life that you and I enjoy we owe not to Catholics alone, or Jews alone, or Englishmen or Irish alone—we do not owe them to Aryans or non-Aryans alone, or to white or black alone—we owe them to all God's children of every color and nation and creed—to all God's children whom He loves each alike with that same love which "passeth all understanding."

What folly, what awful tragedy, what disloyalty, to talk of dissolving that God-inspired partnership now when democracy needs it most!

America's mission is not the propagation of hate. Our mission is that of helping to prove that only in peace and brotherhood will men

find happiness on this earth. Our mission is to show that by reasonable and peaceful means, men of different natures can build a common security in which justice and liberty are denied to none.

To those who ask if we are worthy of such an errand, let us give the answer of a nation united in its friendship for those who are oppressed, disdainful of any who would take away from us the matchless blessing of our friendship for each other.

PALESTINE AND THE WORLD JEWISH CRISIS

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER,
National Chairman, United Palestine Appeal

A YEAR ago we met under the sign of a complex of ideas which have come to be known to history as "Munich." Today we meet again under the sign of the second World War for which Munich was the prelude. Between last January and this there stretches a stupefying year, a vicious and a brutal year of aggressions, invasions and conquests finally climaxed by a war which was long dreaded and long expected.

For our people this last year has been an appalling one in which our fortunes touched bottom. Disasters piled on one on top of the other. Jewish persecution widened in area and increased in intensity. To the shattering tragedies of German and Austrian Jewries there were added, in the last twelve months, the tragedies of the Jewries of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Consequent upon the dissolution of Czechoslovakia another 300,000 Jews were brought under the brutal heel of the Nazis who promptly proceeded to apply their coldly calculated annihilationist technique against the Jews of that dismembered country. Four months ago the great Jewish community of Poland, numbering 3,000,000 souls, was swept by fire and sword. This disaster is so recent and so vast that it cannot even be crystallized in thought. Poland!—that abundant spiritual and intellectual reservoir of our people for centuries, the home of world-famous Rabbinic academies and scholars, of Chassidism, the Haskalah, the seed-bed of Hebraic culture, the stronghold of Zionism from which have gone forth so many thousands as pioneers to Palestine and so many carriers of Jewish thought and traditions to all parts of the earth—Poland!—where Jews learned self-government and self-consciousness to a degree not reached elsewhere—Poland is today

a torn and tortured land under two tyrannies: the one fatal to the spirit of the Jew, the other to the body and the spirit.

This last year has been a year of flight for our people, a year of refugees, of stripped and helpless exiles, crowding the highways of the world, wandering over the face of the earth in quest of refuge and sanctuary—and finding most doors barred against them. Into exile have gone myriads of our people, even as their forefathers before them. From countries and homes where they had known dignity, power and wealth, Jews, in ever-mounting numbers, have been forced either to wander forth bewildered and disillusioned into a bewildered and disillusioned world, or to remain trapped, and doomed to infamy, degradation and slow starvation.

It has been a year of intensified anti-Semitic agitation everywhere and of a systematic, cynical and cunning exploitation of Jew-baiting as a political weapon in the hands of parties, governments and empires.

Altogether, this has been a black year, one of the blackest in our history, and it climaxes a quarter of a century of mounting calamities.

A Quarter Century of Retreat

For mankind as a whole, this quarter of a century has been one of tragic retreat in every field of the human spirit. "In the 19th century," wrote Victor Hugo, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead—man will begin to *live*!" Here we are in the beginning of the fifth decade of the 20th century, and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead—and man is beginning to *die*. The vista which stretches before our generation seems to end at the edge of a wilderness. The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom.

In this nigh universal blackout for mankind generally and for our people specifically are there discernible any faint shimmers of light, any fugitive gleams in the dark, to tell that life is still going on within the heart of the darkness, to arouse the hope that the creative mind and

heart of mankind and of Israel are still bent upon their eternal tasks, unbroken and undefeated? Or has mankind resigned itself to the domination of the new barbarism, and has Israel, beaten dumb by prolonged torment and misery, also resigned itself to calamity and death?

To the discerning eye there are strong indications that neither mankind, in its quest for freedom and a decent way of life, nor Israel, in its quest for freedom and the right to live, has reconciled itself to any such defeat. The darkness is here, of course, thick and almost impenetrable, but within that darkness there burn the inextinguishable fires of God! The challenge which was hurled at civilization by tyranny, brute force and neo-Paganism has at last been taken up. The eternal, irrepressible conflict has finally broken out, and this time the free spirit of man is armored and on the offensive, no longer in retreat, dazed, bewildered and beguiled. The Empire of insolence and iniquity, which has raged in all its might and fury and befouled the earth, is now cornered, and trapped. It is fighting desperately for its mean and savage life. The outcome of the struggle no one can foresee. But it is greatly heartening to know that the triumphant march of Medievalism which threatened to sweep over the entire earth has been checked, and that men, by the millions, are now mobilized, physically and spiritually, to destroy it. It is heartening also to know that that loathsome dump of putrefying propaganda, lies, and race obsessions which the Nazis deposited in the world, to the incalculable hurt of our people, is fast being cleared away by the same hands which are set to destroy the Nazi régime itself.

A New Solidarity Forged

For our people there have been two cheering lights in the darkness. One has been the manifestation of solidarity, group loyalty and responsibility on the part of our people, in all sections and in all parts of the world. We were not found wanting. A great testing hour did not find us a small people. Israel responded to the attacks made upon it as would a living, healthy and sensitive organism. It quickly rallied and organized, to save, to succor, to defend. The body of our people was hurt in a thousand places, but its spirit not only remained uncowed and unbeaten but emerged even stronger, more sensitive, more vibrant.

As ever, the wings of our souls moulted through contact with evil and suffering. Many afflictions have come upon us in recent years, but not the greatest of all—the loss of faith in our power of survival, in the heroic quality of our national destiny and in the essential worth and dignity of our own lives.

The other light in the all-encircling gloom of our world has been Palestine. In spite of the impoverishment, persecutions and exhaustion of recent years which made of the whole household of Israel one vast hostelry of pain, in spite of the frightful disruption of numerous old centers of Jewish life, our people was nevertheless able to find within itself the energy, the courage, the resources and the resourcefulness to build in Palestine in twenty short years a new and resplendent center of Jewish life, already the fifth largest Jewish center in the world and certainly the first and foremost in the richness of its culture and the vitality of its spirit. The ten thousand evidences given daily in Palestine of renewal and resurrection, of dead spirit revived, of broken bodies made whole again, of building upon ruins, of courage, of vision, of hope, of self-sacrifice are an imperishable epic of splendor, the like of which our own people or any other people has not written at any time in its history. If one wishes to see—not to understand, for it is not within the realm of comprehension—the miracle and the mystery which is Israel, let him go to Palestine in these very disastrous and war-ridden days—days of wrath and Golgotha for our people in the Diaspora—and watch with anointed eyes the undefeated strength, the overarching confidence, the superb zeal and energy, the social vision and the personal idealism which are being poured into the work of rebuilding our national life in our national home. What is being done there and how it is being done, what common folk, transfigured by an ideal, can achieve is a tribute not only to our people and to their sires who begot them but to humanity itself.

Palestine—The Lasting Home

Here a people—resolved to live and not to die—is shouting defiance to a world bent upon its destruction. Here it is building upon strong foundations a lasting home to replace the tabernacles which have

proved so frail and impermanent in so many parts of the earth. Here hope is restored to men robbed of hope, and pride to the humbled, and the gift of mission and destiny to those cut off, spiritually dispossessed, and cast out of all inheritance. Here beauty is given them for ashes, and the lost kingdoms of both worlds are restored to them.

All this is warm, comforting light in the dark night which has fallen upon us. The very evils of our day may yet yield their compensations and redress. Our people is discovering for itself the truth which its wise but unheeded leaders sought to impress upon it—that in all other lands we are forever *dependent*, subject to the life-programs, strategies and national interests of other peoples. We are nationalized or alienized at *their* will. Only in a homeland of our own can we become the artificers and fashioners of our own destiny.

Our people is also relearning the lesson which some leaders of our people have not learned even to this day—that philanthropy alone, however generous, is no solution of the Jewish problem. What have we to show for the vast relief funds spent in Central and Eastern Europe in the last twenty-five years, for the untold millions which were expended in those countries for relief and reconstruction? Nothing! It was necessary work but unavailing as permanent measures of rehabilitation. The tragedies of persecution and homelessness which elicited so much of generous giving from our people in the years immediately following the World War have now been magnified ten-fold. They have reached such a stage that even our philanthropy stands baffled and helpless. Not only because our resources are unequal to the magnitude of the relief problem, but it is not even allowed to reach the objects of its solicitude where it could help.

In Palestine We Are Free to Build

Only in Palestine have national expenditures been converted into permanent national investments. Only in Palestine have relief funds been converted into constructive achievements. Palestine has a splendid, growing and productive Jewish community of over 500,000 souls to show for the investments in substance and in effort which were made in it in the last few decades. Only Palestine, of all the countries which

have received financial support from world Jewry, can point to hundreds of new colonies, settlements, villages, towns and cities, to schools, to colleges, to a university, to a national library, to a medical center, to a full complement of social agencies and institutions, to a revived Hebrew language and culture, and to a teeming, vigorous and happy Jewish life, as evidence of the productive value of such support. And in Palestine alone we are still free to build, and that in spite of political restrictions and war conditions.

We are not underestimating the difficulties, nor ignoring the checks and setbacks in our building work in Palestine. We have encountered very serious difficulties in recent years—the political dangers of the White Paper, and the considerable economic derangements caused first by the disturbances within the country and now by the war. But these are problems which are solvable, and which from time to time confront every normal nation. In the life of a people success and failure each casts the shuttle to the other. “It is provided in the essence of things,” declared the poet Walt Whitman, “that from any fruition of success . . . shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.” But the right to struggle and to fight is in itself a supreme privilege of a free people. In Palestine we possess this privilege.

We are therefore resolved to go forward in our appointed tasks, undismayed by the terrible plight in which so many of our people find themselves, undeterred by political frustration, unwearied by the furious battle which we are forced to fight on so many fronts. We must avoid the “frantic” approach to our problem, the mood of panic. It was said of Nero that he could tune his harp well, but in government he always wound up the strings too high, or let them down too low. As a people, we must guard ourselves against these dangers. Strong nerves, stout hearts, cool heads and willing hands are what we need—and unending faith.

A people that wishes to avoid servitude must learn to fight—but without discipline, organization, sound strategy and cool courage no battle is ever won!

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